2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place."
[103] From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

● [194] The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND NAMES

YOKUTS LANGUAGE

The most fascinating feature of any primitive people is almost certain to be their language. Primitive language has many characteristics which appear peculiar to persons who speak written languages. Most noticeable of all features of primitive language are the many sounds which do not occur in modern tongues and which are difficult for us to produce. 191

Primitive sounds consist of clicks made by the teeth, grunts, clucking and snapping with the tongue, and blowing through the throat. In the Yokuts dialects a coughed H is met with. These sounds are also sometimes accompanied by grimaces. In addition there are practically all of the sounds included in a civilized language. We are told that the dialects of some of the tribes of South Africa contain almost all of these primitive sounds. One word may involve, in addition to gutturals, a click of the teeth and a snap of the tongue. 194

Primitive people are generally able to reproduce practically all of the sounds of a civilized language, but it is surely amusing to hear a person who speaks a modern language attempt some of the more involved primitive sounds. It brings quite forcibly to one's mind the fact that the tendency of civilization has been to simplify the sounds involved in languages.

Consider for example the *K'hoo'-sheem* (north) of the Yokuts. The first syllable was pronounced with the mouth and throat open and was accompanied with cough and a blowing sound deep in the throat. When a white person opens his mouth and throat, the sound stops. The writer practiced for many months before he could say K'hoo'-sheem correctly and loud enough to be heard ten feet away. An Indian could yell it so as to be heard distinctly two hundred yards away.

The word *T'hoo'-k'wheel* (west) is even worse. It is accompanied by two coughs, with the throat open. When attempted by a white person, it generally results in two almost noiseless efforts.

The word for distance is most interesting. In many Indian tongues it has the same characteristics. If you ask a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

194 *Wukchumne* Yokuts where he has been he is likely to answer, *"Wah trip-in Kaweah,"* meaning up the river a short way. If he has been gone a day or so and absent over night, he will say in a higher key, *"Wa-a-a-a-h trip-in."* Should he have been gone a week or more he will turn his head in the direction of his travels, twist his mouth to one side, and, in a still higher key, say *"Wa-a-a-a-a-a-h hah' trip-in."*

This method of expressing distance was most effectively expressed by William Lewis Manly in his book, *Death Valley in '49*. Upon the meeting of the Manly party with Chief Walker, after they had started down Green River, Walker tried to induce them to abandon the attempt. Making a small ditch, he likened it to the river at the point where the conversation was taking place. Then showing how, as they passed down the canyon the walls grew higher and higher, he raised his hands to some distance to represent the height of the canyon walls farther downstreem. This motion was accompanied by the exclamation, *"E-e-e-e-e"*, meaning high.

Then Walker went farther down the ditch and raised his hands above his head, again saying, *"E-e-e-e-e-e"* (higher). Again he repeated the performance, standing on top of rocks and raising his hands as high as possible, saying *"E-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e."* In this way he was able without a single word of English, to clearly and unmistakably illustrate to the travelers the tremendous height of the canyon walls. This account is typical of others related to the writer by persons long familiar with Indians.

The Yokuts to a certain extent, like many other primitive people, spoke a bow-wow language. By this is meant that many of their words were imitative of the sounds or objects they were to represent. This is obviously true of some of our own words. If it were possible for us to investigate many others at their source, it is probable that we would find much of our language of that nature. Lisp, whisper, whistle, blow, stumble, stammer and swoop are typical bow-bow words. The word swoop has the sound of a bird diving after prey.

Let us pause for a moment in connection with this last word, and consider the widely used Yokuts word for the once common red-tailed hawk. It is "swoop" and is drawn out even more expressively than our word, swoop. The Yokuts undoubtedly developed this word through the same process that we developed our word.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill*. It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we*. It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila*. However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit*, Wukchumne, *Kaweah*, *Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne*, *Chunut*, *Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip*. The Wukchumne call this *chadip*. They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik*, name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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PHONETIC RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

The phonetic changes and equivalences of the Yokuts dialectic groups are few and simple. There are only three affecting entire groups with any frequency. These are, first a change of usual l to d, confined to the Tule-Kaweah group, within which it is universal; second the occurrence of ö and ü in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups; and third the occurrence of ñ in the Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, and Poso Creek groups. It will be seen that all these phonetic specializations are confined to the Foot-hill division and that the northernmost group within this division, the Kings River, is free from them and agrees phonetically with the groups of the Valley division. While the first of these three mutations, the change of l to d, holds universally in the dialects in which it occurs, the substitution of the other sounds, ñ for n and ö and ü for e and i, is only partial in the dialectic groups in which they appear. But obversely ñ, ö, and ü are universally replaced by n, e, and i in those groups in which they do not appear.

The change of l to d in the Tule-Kaweah group requires no particular discussion. The fact that it is confined to only one of the six groups in the family, and that one a small group, shows this d to have been almost certainly a comparatively late development from a more original l. It is possible that this change of l to d is due to Shoshonean influence, for the Mono division of the Shoshonean family entirely lacks l. The case for this supposition is however not very strong, for the Kings River and Northern Yokuts groups are also in contact with the Mono and have retained l, whereas within the Tule-Kaweah group, which has made the change to d, only the tribes on Kaweah river, such as the Wükchamni, are in contact with Shoshoneans of the Mono division, the Tule river tribes, such as the Yaudanchi, having been in closer touch with the Shoshoneans of the distinct Kern River group, whose dialect contains l.

Of course d, corresponding to t as g does to k, appears in all Yokuts dialects irrespective of whether or not they possess l.

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As regards the second principal phonetic peculiarity, the appearance of ö and ü and the so-called impure vowels in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups, it is almost certain that Shoshonean influence must be reckoned with. This ö and ü, and perhaps other impure o and u sounds, are characteristic of the Shoshonean family, being found in all its dialectic branches except the southernmost of those in southern California. The Shoshonean family occupies almost the entire territory extending along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, and thence south and westward through southern California to the ocean. The four purely Californian families with which the Shoshoneans come in territorial contact along this stretch, the Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Chumash, all show these impure ö and ü sounds. Moreover these four families are, so far as known at present, the only ones in California that possess these sounds. The case could not well be stronger for the territorial continuity of characteristics due to interinfluence. It is rendered still stronger by the circumstance that one division of the Miwok or Moquelumnan family, which is separated from the remainder of the stock, and out of reach of direct Shoshonean influence, in the northern Coast Range of the state, appears to lack these ö and ü sounds in question. Yokuts would appear to have been influenced less than the three other stocks, since the great majority of its dialects, including many of those in the foot-hills in direct contact with Shoshoneans, lack the ö and ü. The two dialectic groups possessing ö and ü probably had closer relations with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any other groups excepting that on Poso creek. The Tule-Kaweah group was in contact with both the Mono and Kern River divisions, and the Buena Vista group in close proximity to the Kern River, Kawaiisu, and Serrano divisions, besides being in direct contact with the northeasternmost Chumash. Why the Paleuyami of Poso creek, who were probably more intimately associated with Shoshoneans than any other Yokuts group, should lack these sounds is difficult to understand. The Paleuyami dialect, however, often pronounces its vowels, especially i, e, o, and u, with a quality somewhat different from that which they have in other dialects; i and u especially are open to the point of sounding impure. In the dialects lacking ö and ü, e and i always

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replace them. The other impure vowels, which, as has been stated of Yaudanchi, are frequently only induced by ö and ü, are replaced by the ordinary simple vowels in other dialects. Whether ö and ü are original in the words in which they occur, or only subsequent modifications of o and i, is not certain; but the great preponderance of dialects lacking ö and ü, and the proximity of the dialects possessing these sounds to Shoshonean territory, makes the latter explanation more probable; so that in this respect also the Valley and Kings River dialects seem to represent a more original state of the language than the southern Foot-hill groups.

The sound ñ, occurring in the three southern Foot-hill groups and replaced in all others by n, is the most difficult to understand. The evidence for influence of other families is not very strong. Mono and the other Shoshonean divisions in contact with the Yokuts, excepting the Kern River group and some of the southeastern Mono, all lack ñ, as does Chumash. This fact would accord with internal circumstances which tend to show that this sound is an original one in Yokuts. If this is the case, the ñ occurring in the Kern River division of Shoshonean is probably due to Yokuts influence.

Whereas ñ is invariably replaced by n in the Valley and Kings River dialects, n of these dialects is replaced by ñ in only a certain number of words in the three southern Foot-hill groups. Of a hundred Valley or Kings River words containing n medially, about forty southern Foot-hill words have ñ; of one hundred containing n finally, about twenty-five in the Foot-hill group replace it by ñ; of one hundred beginning with n, not more than five or ten show initial ñ in the southern Foot-hill groups. While there is thus a marked tendency for ñ to appear finally and especially medially, it is clear that its appearance is not entirely or directly due to its position in words. An examination of its relations to the vowels of the words in which it appears also brings out no definite conclusions. There is thus no apparent internal cause for the appearance of ñ. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that a stem containing ñ and appearing in several of the Foot-hill dialects invariably shows ñ and not n in all the dialects of these groups in which it occurs, makes it probable that this

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sound goes back to the period when these three groups, and perhaps all the groups of Yokuts, were not yet fully differentiated. As the three southern Foot-hill groups are now so much specialized, they cannot have been separated very recently. It is therefore clear, first that ñ is almost certainly a sound of some antiquity in the dialects in which it occurs, and second that it may have been an original general Yokuts characteristic which has been lost in those three of the Yokuts groups that now contain the greater number of dialects.

Other than these three dialectic equivalences there are none in Yokuts that are general enough to be of much comparative significance in our present knowledge of the language. In a few words l and y correspond interdialectally. Usually the Valley group shows y.

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
where	hell-	hol	hilo-	hilo-	hilo-	hiyo-
tooth	tilo	teli	tedi	teli	teli	teyi
white			teoded	teoyoyi	(djolol)	djolol
tule	kololis				koyis	
buzzard					Chunut:	got-ola
					Yauelmani:	kot-eya
bow			dayap	dalip		t-alap

There is some irregular accordance between t, t·, and tc. Some of the principal instances are shown in the following table. It will be seen that the Valley dialects show most tendency to palatalize t sounds formed at the teeth in other dialects. While t and t· sound much alike to the untrained Indo-European ear, they are quite distinct to the Yokuts, and it seems strange that these equivalences between them should exist. It is however significant that these equivalences of t, t·, and tc are on the one hand infrequent and on the other hand not always in the same direction, although in the case of any one word all the dialects of one group are usually a unit in regard to the sound they show.

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
one	yit	yit	yet	yeto	yet	yet, yeto
belly	t-ot	teote	t-ot-			tot-
bow			dayap	dalip[1]		t-alap
earth				xotol	xotsoi	xot-ol
sweat			dumkun	t-umun	teumak	t-opox
rabbit	tlu		tlu	teu	teu	telu

[1] Some dialects: d-alip.

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*197 ● 194 Several instances of equivalences of t, t·, and tc between Yaudanchi and Yauelmani have been given in the discussion of the phonetics of the latter dialect.

There are some correspondences between s and t·. In most words there are only one or two dialects which sporadically show one of these sounds in place of the other.

[192] Mouth: cama; Gashowu, t·ama.

Eye: caca; Gashowu, Choinok, t·at·a.

Nose: t·inik; Chukchansi, sinik.

Beard: Southern Foot-hill, d·amoc, djamoc; Kings River group and Valley division, damut·.

Testicles: Tule-Kaweah, hoñoc; Valley, honot·, honoc.

Badger: t·aniu, t·anau; Choinimni, sanau.

Fish: lopit·; Chukchansi, lopis.

In a few cases x and k correspond. The usual form for fingernail, xecix, becomes kecik in the Tule-Kaweah group. Horn, usually koyec, is xoyec in Gashowu and Dumna. In the Valley division the demonstrative stems indicating proximity are hi and ki, in the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division ke, and in the three southern Foot-hill groups xi, or xe and xi.

As has been said in the discussion of Yaudanchi, it is not quite clear whether s and c are two distinct sounds in Yokuts or only one. If distinct, the two are certainly much alike. There is some individual variation. Women especially are apt to pronounce s and ts much more sharply and clearly than men, from whom c and tc are more frequently heard. There is probably also some slight dialectic difference in this respect, as in certain Valley dialects, such as Yauelmani, s and ts are almost always heard.

While, as has been shown, radical differences between dialects are much more conspicuous in Yokuts than phonetic ones; and while regular phonetic mutations between dialects are but slightly developed; there yet are, as might be expected, many stems that, in an apparently irregular fashion, assume more or less different forms in the six groups and even in individual dialects. Only, these differences are neither very striking nor of such nature or degree as to have any appreciable significance in the present state of the study of the language. The kind and

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate.

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiteu, bèmanduts, bèmamteui, bèmax, gāmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable.

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit·iu; Poso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Poso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, oluk'; Gashowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teoga, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hoga; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Poso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gălăyi; Kings kilet·, kelit·; Choinok, helawat; Northern, heljil; Gashowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns,

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Dog: tese-se, FH.
Weasel: cam-im, N, K.
Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: co-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poc-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ô-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: cap-ă-cip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-ă-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are reviewed in the following table.

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ŏ, ŭ	ŏ, ŭ	e, i	ŏ, ŭ	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ac	?	-ac	-ac	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wic	-wic	-wic	-wic
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gon	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	mon	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	xi	xi	xo	ko	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ko	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a'ha'	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	ohom	ohom

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Paleuyami

THE VARIOUS DIALECTS.

PALEUYAMI.

Phonetically, Paleuyami is much specialized. Its vowels particularly have been affected, and with an apparent perversity that has an aspect of unconscious deliberateness. Words containing two similar vowels in other dialects, often have one altered in Paleuyami so as to contrast with the other: ilik becomes elik. On the other hand in a smaller number of words diverse vowels are assimilated in Paleuyami, usually to i: te'olipi becomes te'ilipi. Metathesis of vowels is frequent: xecix becomes xisex. Finally there are simple changes of single vowels. The most frequent of these changes is to e, most often from a or i. The contrary changes, to a and i, are few; o, or i following o, sometimes becomes a, and e followed by a becomes i. Between o and u, change to the former is more frequent, just as e is favored over i. U followed by i becomes o followed by o.

Similar vowels differentiated in Paleuyami:

yet-aili	yit-ainil
t-eñik	t-inik, t-äñük
piete	piie, pööte
elik	ilik
xelul	xilil
tibet-	tibit-
t-epid	t-ipdi, teipit
piel	pi'l
teieue	teeeee
t-iel	t-eel, t-öod
hoñheñ	hoñhoñ, honhon

Different vowels assimilated in Paleuyami:

te'ilipi	te'olipi
minits	menit-
wihieit	wehecit, wöhöelt
wiwitsi	wewutsoi
opt-o	apt-u

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Metathesis of vowels in Paleuyami:

menue	munae
t·eiu	t·ieu
weteip	witeep
teimicel	teimecil
tilei	teli
xiwex	xecix
ecli	leel, ëead
k'eli	k'ilei, k'ëdai
isen	esin, ösön
heliu	hileu
etis	hit'oe, hät'ae, hit'le
wexi	wëxe, wixe
dibek	tepik·, töpük

Paleuyami changes to e:

sextel	sitxil
keiu	kaiu
wiwel	wowul
wa'en	wa'n, wan
k'eneu	k'aniu, k'ënu
det·i	dot·i
wetek	watak
eñt·eu	ant·u, añt·u
ceca	caca
cema	cama
gepeil	gapcai
keyu	kuyu, kuyo
meñal	manal
xowet·	xowot·
djamee	d·amoe
hetpeñi	hatpañi, hotoponi

Paleuyami changes to o:

tok	tuk
got	gut, gut'ue
xo	ka
tsoyotis	tcayatae, tcoitoe
xoeom	xueim, xuoum
opoe	upie, upue
ocot	ucit, ucut, ocit

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i:

hiba	hèpa, hŏpa
hig'a	hèxa
gixa	gèxa, k'ŏxa
yit	yet
k'ami	k'amu

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	not, notu
mut-ka	mod-ak
humñol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat·	lopit·
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
xotai	xotoi
gata-wei	got·

Grammatical Forms.

Pronouns:

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. men.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xiu, xeu, xien; ko, xota, go-awe; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, his).

han-ta, what?

wat-entex, who?

Verbal forms:

hiem toyon-si, it is (already) night.

na-an ti ma, will you eat?

tana na na-an, I will eat.

hel ma tawaca, are you thirsty?

ama na tawaca, I am not thirsty.

heliu ma tanăwi, where are you going?

k'eneu-ji, xai-si.

lolh-in.

wod-oyits, hatam-its, dancer, singer.

ui-ui-wil-eits, road-runner.

ho', wiwel, tiutiu, sit, stand, walk!

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi

n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

000 But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem 193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; æ, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; '(as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; p̣, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.